...that one thing he said for both the hands and females, and it does not as cattle in the Commissioner's settlement to grant he promised them restrictions also. Sayings of goodness.

**Sayings with Youth**

Eighteen sayings were recorded in gossiping between Chenbo and Youth or members of the Youth group:

| | |
|---|---|
| Chenbo and Youth women: 8<br>Chenbo and Youth women: 1<br>Chenbo and Youth women: 1 | Chenbo and Youth men: 10<br>Chenbo and Youth men: 10 |

Sayings of Chenbo women to outsiders were to the to the poverty of the Chenbo, which by these same would have report that the women would have considered an excellent, such sayings who were the existence of work to the Chenbo.

**Polygamy**

Although there is no objection to polygamy, Chenbo seldom have the means of supporting more than one wife at a time. Ningpo proved more successful of re-sayings with a wife's death or desertion. In one gossipings a women had as few than five secondary husbands, some of these her husband's brothers, and her only there was one daughter.

**Re-sayings of Widows**

Unlike the Youth, the Chenbo recognize the re-sayings of widows to the normal manner as members of households to their sisters, brothers, or other representatives, in a domestic manner. Widows normally live with their husband's brothers, wives to their parents, or else live alone.

**Divorce**

Divorce is rare, and is of one kind only: consensual. The husband may divide the wives of his brothers. But a wife who has been a child cannot be divorced for any cause whatsoever.

**Sons**

Intercourse between husband and wife ends in the family on fifth month of pregnancy, and is not resumed till the child is about six months old. Many sayings place in the husband's but the husband going to the Western country. The wife is provided by a midwife, sometimes with the mother to prevent if possible. She stays in the hut for six or seven days after the birth, and the child's body given its best covered the several months with the latter being different in sex only its face. The mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat instead its male progeny ceremony in the two eyes of the child and with the hut and judgmental gives priest from the stomach of the two breasts, and belly. Children are weaned at the age of about 3 years. Twins are not liked, and the mother's usual performance except by twin birth must be observed by the killing of a goat which is eaten by the mother and her nearest friends. The Chenbo say that if a man has an ox and he has sons who has two heads, the ox will drive each child an inheritance. The Youth has sons a son and has only by child with a preceding spirit. The grown a principal spirit is given before the child was born, at the time when it is five years old and is called 'guardian spirit' in relation of the Youth animal. Children may also be given nicknames which often refer to some physical peculiarity. After circumcision, boys become men of other and calling their

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ox, the suitor goes again to the girl's father with another bag of honey, and makes his request again. After a short time, perhaps two or three weeks, the father calls the clan together, and tells the suitor to attend. To the assembled council, the father says, "Here is my daughter, and here is the man who wants her to be his wife". Having given publicly his consent,

Next, the bride-payment is settled. This is not absolutely fixed, but varies slightly according to circumstances. Statements about its nature and amount in the old days are somewhat conflicting. In 1937 I was told a standard ability of livestock in fairly large quantities, and of monkey-skin rugs, a statement probably true of the very old days when few of the Kwanderobo had any live stock at all. But since those days, the introduction of even a small amount of live stock has changed the nature of bride-payment. People said in 1939 that in the old days [illegible] was had to provide four cows for slaughtering at the marriage feast as well, but I could find no instance of this. In 1939, the standard bride-payment was one cow, with its calf if still suckling, one ox, and four goats, subject to slight variation according to the circumstances of the father in law; other amounts that I recorded were: 1 cow, 1 ox, 6 goats; 1 cow, 1 ox, 5 goats; 1 cow, 4 goats; 4 cows and 3 goats. As well as live stock, a man gives his father in law honey wine and one or more fat cups, thus combining the old bride-payment with the new, and making the acquisition of a wife more of a drain on a man's wealth than it used to be.

Payment of the bride cattle need not be made before the marriage ceremony, but the first instalment should be handed over within a few months, and the rest at such intervals as may be agreed upon. If the husband dies before completing payment, his brother takes the widow and completes the payment; in such cases it is not necessary for the pair to go through the marriage ceremony, for the formal acceptance of responsibility by the brother before the clan council legalises the status of any children she may bear him. If the husband has no brothers, the procedure depends on whether the woman has borne a child or not. If she has not, she returns to her father, and the animals already paid are handed back to the husband's people, and she is free to marry anyone she pleases. If she has had a child, she stays with her husband's group, and some member of the family (who this is depends upon what men are available) takes charge of her and the child, and completes payment of the bride cattle.

Having settled the matter of bride payment, the suitor has now to arrange for the marriage ceremony. He gets an old man, of any clan, with whom he is on terms of fairly close friendship, to act as master of the ceremonies. This old man is called *Pa-kwet*[1] by the bridegroom and *Pa-mwet* by the bride. His first job is to collect the friends and relations of the pair. They gather round the hut where the ceremony is to take place. This is by the settlement of the suitor's father. He (he shows this, the bride

[1] *Pa-kwet* is used also in connexion with circumcision, which is called *kwe*. Though the Dorobo could not supply grammatical information on the matter, *pa-* is thereby it seems to have acquired the meaning of „ceremony".

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Adoption is also practised when an unmarried girl has a baby. In such cases it may be adopted by a childless couple, i.e. who have lost their children, or whose children have grown up and left them, but usually (in the rare occasions where it occurs) the former. An adopted child has the status of a man's own child. Adoption may in certain cases be by previous arrangement. It has happened, I was told, that a person who has cattle or means of getting milk may hear that a certain girl has got pregnant, and gives notice that he will adopt the child when it comes. The mother of the girl accordingly tells him when the girl "enters the hut", and the adopter's wife fetches the baby to her own home as soon as it born. She feeds it with milk from a small hole, and the Dorobo reckon that such babies will do all right, for they say, "such a child need not suck for very long". Illegitimate children are killed if nobody can be found to adopt them.

### 5. Adultery and divorce

Adultery may be punished by a husband who catches his wife with another man, by shooting the male offender with an arrow. If he kills him, he has to pay the normal compensation for homicide. He may also beat his wife, after which he "waits till she has got sense", as they put it, when he buys a goat for her, which they eat together. A man does not divorce his wife for a single act of adultery, but only if she is a bad and unfaithful wife who is continually caught with other men.

When a man has, after much thought, made up his mind to divorce his wife, he calls to one of his relatives to help him perform the divorce ceremony. Taking a piece of lawa, he rubs earth on it and gives one end to his relative to hold, taking the other end himself, the wife being present and looking on. They then break the lawa in two, the man saying to his wife, *Kiseli kotonyat ben bili gurumoi*, or in, *gukuliton* ("I have broken our marriage as this lawa has been broken: go home and leave me"). He can then claim the return of the live stock which he paid to her father. But only a woman who has not borne her husband a child can be divorced; once there has been a child, no divorce is possible, for the birth of a child completes the union, which once completed is indissoluble.

### 6. Polygamy

In theory a Dorobo can have as many wives as he can pay for, which means that usually a man has but one wife at a time. Polygamy may therefore be said to be non-existent. The only thing that does occur is the occasional re-marriage of a man after the death or desertion of his wife, of which I recorded three cases. Widows, again, seldom re-marry, living normally either with their husbands' brothers, returning to their parents, or even living alone. In one genealogy, however, I found a woman who had been married to four successive husbands, none of whom was her husband's brother, and having as issue but one daughter. The Dorobo themselves remarked upon this succession of marriages as being a most unusual occurrence.

/Tai cont./

are bought from the Masai for ivory, and finally half of the meat of a male female head of game approximately the size of a zebra. The mother of the bride and each of her brothers receive from the bridegroom a beehive apiece. Instead of the beehives the parents-in-law in some regions, especially where the Wandorobo live in close contact with the Masai, receive iron wire. After receiving the gifts, the bridegroom and father-in-law reciprocally call each other be-gerai, bridegroom and mother-in-law be-gor, bridegroom and the brothers of the bride be-ndoni, according to ancient Masai custom.

For beauties no higher price is paid. For a childless widow the usual price is paid, but only after the birth of the first child and after her father has returned to the heirs of her deceased husband the price received for her before her first marriage. For a widow who gave birth to girls only, no bride price is paid; instead, however, the heir of her deceased husband keeps her daughters. Likewise nothing is paid for a woman driven out by her husband. If the bridegroom dies before the marriage, his brother takes the bride. If the bride dies before the marriage or if the betrothal persons dissolve the betrothal, the portion of the bride price already paid is returned. A bridegroom who is too poor to be able to pay the full price serves the father-in-law for a few months as herder for the remainder owed.

If the father of the girl has stubbornly opposed the courtship, he is finally forced to consent by means of a divine judgment. The lover stealthily creeps into the hut of the old man and ties a rope of grass around the wooden honey pot. The father is said /[illegible]/ to give his consent regularly then, since otherwise the punishment of God would kill him. In place of this custom, it also happens that the lover secretly takes the girl away, or the latter -- as among the Masai -- flees to him without her parents' knowledge.

Wife exchange occurs, but legal marriage does not arise from it. The woman does not cohabit with the other man for longer than a half to a whole year. If she feels pregnant before this time, she returns to her husband.

Among the Arai the norm marriage ceremonies hold as among the Masai, but the great distances between the individual clay camps

/541 cont./

often necessitate a more lenient interpretation, so that there has often come about a practice according to which the bridal couple may not be related more closely than the third degree.

After the completed paying of the bride price, the bride is handed over to the bridegroom, and the latter either takes her along immediately or leaves her for two or three weeks to learn housekeeping with his mother, so that the latter will instruct her in housekeeping.

There is nothing new to be said about the wedding customs. A *jus p. n.* /*jus primae noctis*/ also exists here, and, to be sure, in the same form as among the Masai.

Divorce, as among the Masai, comes about if the husband drives out the wife or if the latter runs away from him. What was said about the possible return of the bride price there also applies. With the divorce all the children remain with the father. The woman keeps the infant only until the end of the nursing period, which she usually spends with her parents, whereupon the father also takes this child to live with him. If a pregnant woman runs away from her husband, he may demand the child, without compensation, after the weaning. Husband and wife may remarry immediately after a divorce, though a woman who is nursing a child is supposed to wait until its weaning. Divorced couples may reinstate the marriage by mutual consent, without any formalities. What was said of the Masai about the dissolution of a marriage through the death of one partner and about the remarriage of the other marriage partner applies.